

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 IO-04 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-01

NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 NIC-01

EB-04 ACDA-05 AEC-05 AECE-00 EA-06 /084 W

----- 036023

O R 301116Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4078

INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 16520

DACCA FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, PK

SUBJ: BHUTTO VISIT TO MOSCOW

REF: A. NEW DELHI 14505

B. STATE 231819

C. ISLAMABAD 10211

1. SUMMARY. WHILE BHUTTO'S MOSCOW VISIT (OCTOBER 24-26) RESTORED A HIGH-LEVEL BILATERAL DIALOGUE, IT SEEMS TO HAVE PRODUCED NO MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH IN SOVIET-PAKISTANI RELATIONS. ON BILATERAL AFFAIRS THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY YIELDED NOTHING IMPORTANT, AND SERIOUS ECONOMIC TALKS FOR WHICH THE DELEGATION CAME PREPARED DID NOT MATERIALIZE. THE SOVIETS MADE NO SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY, BUT LIKEWISE THEY SIDE-
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STEPPED BHUTTO'S IDEA FOR A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE ON THE

SUBCONTINENT. NONETHELESS, THE SOVIET-PAKISTANI COMMUNIQUE (PRAVDA, OCTOBER 27 AND REFTEL C) AND COMMENTS BY A PAKISTANI EMBOFF HERE INDICATE THAT ON THE MAIN TOPICS DISCUSSED -- THE POLITICAL SITUATION ON THE SUBCONTINENT AND PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH HER NEIGHBORS -- MOSCOW SHOWED MORE SENSITIVITY TO AND IN SOME CASES GREATER UNDERSTANDING FOR PAKISTANI POSITIONS THAN BHUTTO HAD EXPECTED. END SUMMARY.

2. BILATERAL RELATIONS. SOVIET-PAKISTAN TALKS EVIDENTLY PRODUCED NOTHING CONCRETE ON THE BILATERAL SIDE OTHER THAN AN AGREEMENT TO NEGOTIATE A NEW TRADE AGREEMENT. PAKISTANI EMBOFF SAID HIS SIDE'S DELEGATION (INCLUDING FIVE CABINET MINISTERS) HAD THOUGHT IT LIEKLY THAT SPECIALIZED WORKING GROUP SESSIONS WOULD ACCOMPANY BHUTTO'S TALKS WITH KOSYGIN AND BREZHNEV. IN THE EVENT NO SUCH TALKS OCCURRED, AND THE DISCUSSIONS OF BILATERAL ECONOMIC MATTERS YIELDED NOTHING SUBSTANTIAL. THE AGREEMENT TO NEGOTIATE A NEW TRADE ACCORD REPRESENTED NOTHING MORE THAN A COMMITMENT TO RENEGOTIATE THE EXISTING AGREEMENT WHICH EXPIRES IN 1975.

3. ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY. THE PAKISTANIS AVOIDED ANY ENDORSEMENT OR DIRECT REFERENCE TO THIS FAVORITE SOVIET HOBBYHORSE, AGREEING ONLY THAT ALL STATES SHOULD OBSERVE THE UN CHARTER "IN ORDER TO CONSOLIDATE WORLD PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA AND ELSEWHERE AND TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY." (THE PRAVDA RUSSIAN VERSION OF THIS PASSAGE PUTS IT COLSER TO SOVIET VIEWS ON ASIAN SECURITY: "WITH THE AIMS OF CONSOLIDATING PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND OF PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.") THE TWO SIDES ALSO AGREED THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY SOVIET-PAKISTANI RELATIONS WILL MEET THE INTERESTS OF BOTY PEOPLES AND SERVE "THE CAUSE OF STRENGTHENING PEACE AND SECURITY IN ASIA AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD." PAKISTANI EMBOFF TOLD US THE SOVIET DRAFT COMMUNIQUE CONTAINED AN EXPECTEDPITCH FOR MUTUAL ENDORSEMENT OF ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY, CONFIDENTIAL

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BUT WHEN THE PAKISTANIS ASKED HOW THEY WERE SUPPOSED TO SUBSCRIBE TO A PROPOSAL WHICH EVEN THE INDIANS REFUSED TO ACCEPT, THE SOVIETS DROPPED THEIR BID AND SETTLED FOR PAKISTANIS' NEUTRAL LANGUAGE. ON THIS ISSUE, EMBOFF (WHO TOOK PART IN DRAFTING COMMUNIQUE) SAID SOVIETS' EFFORT SEEMED PERFUNCTORY AND FOR THE RECORD.

4. NUCLEAR FREE ZONE. BHUTTO'S PITCH FOR A NUCLEAR

FREE ZONE ON THE SUBCONTINENT RECEIVED NO ACKNOWLEDGMENT IN SOVIET PUBLIC STATEMENTS OR IN THE COMMUNIQUE. PAKISTANI EMBOFF SHOWED NO DISAPPOINTMENT AT THIS (IMPLYING THAT PAKISTANIS HAD NOT REALLY EXPECTED THE SOVIETS TO TAKE A STAND ON THE ISSUE) AND SAID A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE BHUTTO PROPOSAL HAD RESULTED IN AGREEMENT TO OMIT IT FROM THE COMMUNIQUE IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT IT WOULD BE TAKE UP BY THE UN. THE SOVIETS THUS NEATLY SIDE-STEPPED THE THORNY PROBLEM OF AN INDIRECT STAND ON INDIA'S NUCLEAR TEST.

5. SUBCONTINENT AFFAIRS. THE COMMUNIQUE'S CAREFUL TREATMENT OF SUBCONTINENT AFFAIRS AND PAKISTANI EMBOFF'S FAIRLY POSITIVE REVIEW OF THE TALKS ON THE SUBJECT SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIETS SHOWED SENSITIVITY TO AT LEAST SOME PAKISTANI CONCERNS ABOUT RELATIONS WITH THEIR NEIGHBORS. THE PAKISTANI SAID THE SOVIETS SHOWED UNDERSTANDING FOR BHUTTO'S GENERAL POSITION FAVORING RESOLUTION OF THE SUBCONTINENT'S PROBLEMS THROUGH BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS. HE NOTED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT THE COMMUNIQUE POINTS OUT THE PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN NORMALIZING RELATIONS IN THE AREA THROUGH THE SIMLA, DELHI, TRIPARTITE AND ISLAMABAD AGREEMENTS, AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT "GOVERNMENTS OF THE STATES OF THE SUBCONTINENT" WILL HONOR THEIR TREATY OBLIGATIONS AND "UNDERTAKE NEW CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS" IN THE INTEREST OF NORMALIZING RELATIONS. ACCORDING TO THE PAKISTANI, THIS LANGUAGE IS CONSISTENT WITH PAKISTAN'S VIEWS AND HE SAW ITS ACCEPTANCE HERE AS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION THE PAKISTANIS ALSO ARE PROBABLY SATISFIED THAT HE COMMUNIQUE APPEARS TO SPREAD RESPONSIBILITY FOR FUTURE PROGRESS ON THE SUBCONTINENT AMONG OTHER STATES AND IMPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGES THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAKISTAN'S NEIGHBORS MUST SHOULDER SOME OF THE BURDEN FOR FUTTHER STEPS TOWARD NORMALIZATION. PAKISTANI EMBOFF, WHEN ASKED WHETHER THIS REPRESENTS SOVIET POSITION, SAID NO, BUT THAT MOSCOW APPEARS TO BE RECEPTIVE TO A MORE EVENHANDED APPROACH (I.E., MORE WILLING TO LISTEN TO PAKISTANI VIEWS).

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-08 ISO-00 IO-04 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-01

NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 NIC-01

EB-04 ACDA-05 AEC-05 AECE-00 EA-06 /084 W

----- 036248

O R 301116Z OCT 74

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA IMMEDIATE

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6. INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN. PAKISTANI EMBOFF SAID HE BELIEVES BHUTTO MADE A CONVINCING CASE FOR THE PAKISTANI VIEW THAT BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND TALKS ARE THE WAY TO SETTLE THE PROBLEMS BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN AND THE COMMUNIQUE REFLECTS THIS. THE COMMUNIQUE'S EXPRESSED HOPE THAT INDO-PAK PROBLEMS WILL BE SETTLED "AS PROVIDED IN THE SIMLA AGREEMENT," HE SAID, REFLECTS PAKISTAN'S POSITION AND INDICATES THAT BHUTTO'S DISCUSSION OF INDO-PAK RELATIONS WITH KOSYGIN AND BREZHNEV WENT WELL. ACCORDING TO THE PAKISTANI, THE SOVIETS APPEARED PLEASED AT BHUTTO'S DECISION TO PROCEED WITH THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIOS WITH INDIA AFTER THE HIATUS FOLLOWING INDIA'S NUCLEAR TEST. ASKED WHETHER KASHMIR HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE ABOVE CONTEXT, HE SAID IT HAD NOT BEEN, BUT HE VOLUNTEERED HIS BELIEF THAT THE SOVIETS ACCEPT PAKISTAN'S IDEA THAT THE ISSUE MUST BE SETTLED BETWEEN THE PARTIES AND THAT MOSCOW IS TAKING A NEUTRAL ATTITUDE ON THE WHOLE ISSUE. AS
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EVIDENCE FOR THIS, HE NOTED THAT A GROUP OF INDIAN PROFESSORS WHO RECENTLY VISITED MOSCOW TO DISCUSS KASHMIR AND ELICIT SOVIET VIEWS ON THE FUTURE OF THE

PROVINCE WENT HOME DISAPPOINTED AT SOVIET VAGUENESS
AND RETICENCE ON THE WHOLE KASHMIR PROBLEM.

7. AFGHANISTAN. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO APPEARS TO HAVE
RESPONDED AT LEAST marginally TO PAKISTANI SENSITIVITIES
BY MELDING AN ALMOST VERBATIM REPETITION OF THE
SOVIET-FGHAN STATEMENT (JUNE 9) EXPRESSING HOPE THAT
"DIFFERENCES (SOVIET-AFGHAN STATEMENT SAID THE
POLITICAL DIFFERENCE) WILL BE SETTLED BY PEACEFUL MEANS
THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS" WITH PAKISTANI LANGUAGE ASSERTING
THAT A SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE BASED ON "THE PRINCIPLES
OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"--TERMINOLOGY WHICH IN
SOVIET JARGON NORMALLY PRECLUDES INTERFERENCE IN
INTERNAL AFFAIRS OR BORDER VIOLATIONS. THE PAKISTANI
SAID HIS SIDE DEFINITELY READS THE ADDITION OF A
REFERENCE TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE TO MEAN ACCEPTANCE
OF ISLAMABAD'S VIEW THAT THE TRIBAL PROBLEMS IN NORTHERN
PAKISTAN ARE STRICTLY AN INTERNAL AFFAIR. THE EMBOFF
ALSO SAID BHUTTO PRESENTED PAKISTAN'S VIEWS ON THE
BANGLADESH ASSETS AND LIABILITIES ISSUE AND ON
PAKISTANI-PRC RELATIONS. ACCORDING TO THE EMBOFF
THE SOVIETS TOOK NO POSITION ON BANGLADESH AND
LISTENED TO BHUTTO'S STATEMENT ON CHINA.

8. ATMOSPHERICS THE PAKISTANI SAID IT WAS HIS
IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS WERE MORE FORTHCOMING
THAN EXPECTED. BHUTTO HAD THREE SETS OF TALKS. THE
TWO WITH KOSYGIN LASTED APPROXIMATELY THREE HOURS
(OCTOBER 24) AND A HALF-HOUR (OCTOBER 25) RESPECTIVELY.
BHUTTO'S MEETING WITH BREZHNEV OCTOBER 25 LASTED ABOUT
THREE HOURS. THE EMBOFF SAID HE THOUGHT THE TALKS,
PARTICULARLY THAT WITH BREZHNEV, HAD GONE QUITE
WELL AND BHUTTO WAS IN A PARTICULARLY GOOD MOOD
FOLLOWING HIS MEETING WITH THE GENERAL SECRETARY.
SUMMING UP THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT, THE PAKISTANI
SAID HE FELT BHUTTO'S TRIP HAD BEEN VALUABLE FOR THE
OPPORTUNITY IT AFFORDED THE PRIME MINISTER TO EXCHANGE
VIEWS WITH THE SOVIET LEADERS. HE ALSO EXPRESSED THE
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VIEW THAT SOVIET-PAKISTANI RELATIONS WERE MAKING GOOD

PROGRESS TOWARD RESTORING THE DAMAGE DONE TO THE RE-
LATIONSHIP IN 1971.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, COMMUNIQUE, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MOSCOW16520
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740309-0810
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t1974107/aaaaaft.tel
Line Count: 272
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A. NEW DELHI 14505
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <18 APR 2002 by garlanwa>; APPROVED <11 MAR 2003 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BHUTTO VISIT TO MOSCOW
TAGS: PFOR, UR, PK, (BHUTTO, ALI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005